

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2240

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 2830

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS:AD HOC GROUP MEETING

26 MARCH 1974

BEGIN SUMMARY. GROUP, CHAIRED BY US REP, HEARD REPORTS
OF POLISH AND GDR BILATERALS INDICATING POSSIBLE WARSAW
PACT ACCEPTANCE OF AN OVERALL COMMON CEILING COVERING
ALL FORCE ELEMENTS AND POLISH RECEPTIVITY TO FREEZE IN
LIEU OF INCLUSION OF WEST EUROPEAN FORCES IN SYMBOLIC
REDUCTIONS. GROUP CHAIRMAN'S REPORT TO NAC WAS
APPROVED. BELGIAN REP SAID LAST-MINUTE REQUEST FOR
ELIMINATION OF POTENTIALLY AMBIGUOUS WORDING FROM
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AGREED TALKING POINTS ON SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS WAS

CAUSED BY CONCERN OVER APPARENT MISCONCEPTION OF ALLIED POSITION WHICH EMERGED IN SOVIET DEMARCHE IN BRUSSELS. IN DISCUSSION OF REPORT OF 25 MARCH INFORMAL MEETING, GROUP NOTED POSSIBILITY THAT SOVIETS MIGHT BE MOVING TOWARD FREEZE INPLACE OF INCLUSION OF WEST EUROPEAN IN SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS AND AGREED EAST APPEARED UNDER SOME TIME PRESSURE. GROUP AGREED FIRM ALLIED OPPOSITION TO SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS APPEARED TO BE ELICITING MODIFICATIONS OF EASTERN PROPOSAL. GROUP AGREED THAT SHARPER DEFINITION OF FORCE CATEGORIES WAS REQUIRED FOR REPLY TO SOVIET SUGGESTION THAT SPECIALISTS MEET TO DISCUSS IT. NEXT AHG MEETING WAS SCHEDULED FOR 27 MARCH. END SUMMARY.

BILATERALS

1. CHAIRMAN (US REP) OPENED MEETING AND ASKED FOR BILATERALS. UK DEP REP (GOODALL) REPORTED HE AND UK DELOFF LUNCED 22 MARCH WITH POLISH DELOFF WIECZOREK AND OTHER POLISH DELOFF, WHOM THEY ASKED HOW EQUIPMENT OF REDUCED FORCES, SUCH AS MISSILES, WOULD BE HANDLED IN THE POLISH ARMY UNDER THE WARSAW PACT PROPOSAL. POLISH DELOFFS INDICATED THAT MISSILES AND SIMILAR COMBAT EQUIPMENT WOULD BE DESTROYED, BUT THAT USABLE MATERIAL LIKE TRUCKS WOULD BE ASSIGNED TO CIVILIAN USE. THE POLES ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT DISPOSITION OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT MIGHT BE NEGOTIABLE. THE POLES, HOWEVER, THAT DISPOSITION OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT MIGHT BE NEGOTIABLE. THE POLES STRESSED THAT SOVIET REP'S (KHLESTOV) PLENARY STATEMENT OF 21 MARCH WAS INTENDED TO CONVEY WARSAW PACT FLEXIBILITY WITH REGARD TO SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL. UK DEP REP THEN ASKED UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES WARSAW PACT MIGHT CONSIDER PARITY AND COMMON CEILING. POLES REPLIED THAT PARITY OF GROUND FORCES ALONE WAS NOT NEGOTIABLE, BUT AN OVERALL COMMON CEILING COVERING ALL FORCE ELEMENTS MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE. POLES ASKED MISCHIEVOUS QUESTIONS AS TO WHY UK WAS SO "HARD-LINE" AND WHY FRG HAD TURNED SO HARD SINCE CHRISTMAS. POLES

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CONCLUDED WITH PERSONAL APPEAL FOR REDUCTIONS IN ORDER TO FURTHER DETENTE, WHICH THEY SAID WAS A COMMON POLISH-WESTERN INTEREST.

2. ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) SAID HE AND CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) HAD LUNCED WITH GDR REP (OESER) AND GDR DEP REP (ERNST) 22 MARCH. ITALIAN REP HAD CHIDED GDR REPS ON THEIR RATIONALE IN REJECTING THE CONCEPT OF

THE COMMON CEILING FOR GROUND FORCES. GDR DEP REP SAID THAT IF WEST COULD AGREE TO OVERALL COMMON CEILING COVERING ALL FORCES, AND BASED ON PRESENTLY EXISTING PARITY OF FORCES, EAST WOULD ACCEPT RIGHT AWAY. CANADIAN REP SAID GDR REP STRESSED INCLUSION OF NUCLEAR FORCES IN COMMON CEILING.

3. NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) REPORTED CONVERSATION WITH POLISH REP (STRULAK) 23 MARCH ON WESTERN OBJECTIONS TO SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL. POLISH REP HAD INDICATED THAT EAST WOULD SETTLE FOR LESS THAN THIS. NETHERLANDS REP INTERPRETED THIS TO MEAN THAT EAST WOULD SETTLE FOR FREEZE. CHAIRMAN ASKED WHAT FORCES POLES THOUGHT SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN FREEZE. NETHERLANDS REP REPLIED THAT HE INTERPRETED IT TO MEAN A FREEZE ON ALL TYPES OF FORCES. CHAIRMAN OBSERVED THAT THIS WAS TANTAMOUNT TO A FREEZE IN LIEU OF REDUCTION OF FORCES OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS FROM THE OUTSET.

4. FRG REP (BEHREND) REPORTED CONVERSATION WITH GDR REP 21 MARCH. FRG REP HAD SAID THAT EAST SEEMED OPPOSED TO CONCEPT OF PARITY SINCE WARSAW PACT HAD NEVER GIVEN A REPLY ON CONTENT OF COMMON CEILING. GDR REP REPLIED THAT IT MIGHT APPEAR TO THE WEST THAT THE EAST WAS OPPOSED TO THE CONCEPT, BUT THIS WAS DUE MAINLY TO THE DIFFICULTY IN EASTERN EYES OF DEFINING WHAT CONSTITUTED PARITY WHEN ALL FORCE ELEMENTS AND ARMAMENTS WERE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION.

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS; FROM US REP MBFR

5. BELGIAN DEP REP (WILLOT) EXPLAINED THAT AN UNIDENTIFIED FLAG AMONG THOSE DISPLAYED OUTSIDE IN THE CONFERENCE HALL FOR MARCH 21 PLENARY WAS THAT OF NORTHERN IRELAND, DUE TO A MISTAKEN ASSUMPTION BY AUSTRIAN CONFERENCE OFFICIALS THAT QUOTE KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND UNQUOTE WAS TWO COUNTRIES.

AHG CHAIRMAN'S REPORT TO NACT FOR 18-24 MARCH

6. IT WAS AGREED THAT US, BELGIAN AND TURKISH REPS WOULD DELIVER NEXT CHAIRMAN'S REPORT ON 5 APRIL. TEXT OF REPORT WAS APPROVED BY AHG WITH MINOR EDITORIAL CHANGES. (SEPTTEL)

TALKING POINTS ON EASTERN SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL

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7. CHAIRMAN ADVISED GROUP OF MINOR CHANGES WHICH HAD BEEN INTRODUCED INTO TEXT PREVIOUSLY AGREED BY GROUP. CHAIRMAN EXPLAINED THAT CHANGES HAD BEEN REQUESTED BY BELGIAN REP ON 23 MARCH. US DEP REP HAD CIRCULATED REVISIONS TO FRG AND CANADIAN REPS, WHO WERE TO REPRESENT AHG AT INFORMAL MEETING. LATTER HAD AGREED WITH US DEP REP THAT CHANGES WERE EDITORIAL AND DID NOT WARRANT CONVOCAION OF GROUP TO OBTAIN APPROVAL AND WERE THEREFORE USED BY FRG REP AT INFORMAL MEETING WITH EAST ON 25 MARCH.

8. BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN) APOLOGIZED TO GROUP FOR HIS INITIATIVE AND EXPLAINED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD ASKED THAT POTENTIALLY AMBIGUOUS WORDING INDICATING ALLIED RECEPTIVITY TO CERTAIN SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF EASTERN SYMBOLIC REDUCTION EASTERN PROPOSALS BE CHANGED. INSTRUCTION RESULTED FROM DEMARCH BY SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO BRUSSELS TO POLITICAL DIRECTOR OF BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY ON CSCE AND MBFR WHICH INDICATED SOVIET MISCONCEPTION OF ALLIED POSITION SOVIET AMBASSADOR HAD SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WAS CONVINCED FROM RECENT INDICATIONS IN VIENNA

THAT WEST WOULD ACCEPT SYMBOLIC REDUCTION LINKED TO COMMON CEILING. SOVIET AMBASSADOR HAD ALSO USED SAME LANGUAGE AS SOVIET REP IN DISCUSSING NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES, I.E., HE HAD REFERRED TO APPLICABILITY OF LATIN AMERICAN PRECEDENT TO EUROPE. THIRD, SOVIET AMBASSADOR HAD SAID THAT ALLIED ACCEPTANCE IN VIENNA OF SYMBOLIC REDUCTION APPROACH WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO BETTER ATMOSPHERE AT GENEVA CSCE. BELGINA APOLOGIZED THAT HIS DELEGATION, A CHAMPION OF ADHERENCE TO AGREED PROCEDURES, HAD VIOLATED THEM. CHAIRMAN REPLIED THAT HE THOUGHT ISSUE HAD BEEN HANDLED APPROPRIATELY.

DISCUSSION OF REPORT OF 25 MARCH INFORMAL MEETING WITH EAST (SEPTTEL)

9. CHAIRMAN ASKED FRG REP TO GIVE GROUP HIS IMPRESSIONS OF MEETING. FRG REP SAID MEETING WAS LONGEST YET--OVER FIVE HOURS. SOVIET REP DID ALMOST ALL TALKING FOR EAST AND WAS GENIAL THROUGHOUT EXCEPT FOR MOMENTARY LOSS OF COMPOSURE AFTER FRG REP HAD DETAILED WESTERN REASONS FOR OPPOSITION TO SYMBOLIC REDUCTION. SOVIET REP'S SUMMINGUP OF EASTERN POSITION, WHICH HE HAD PREPARED DURING HIS RECENT ILLNESS, WAS
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TECHNICALLY GOOD. SOVIET REP HAD MADE SEVERAL MAIN POINTS: DUE TO DIFFERING ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF VARIOUS ARMED FORCES ON BOTH SIDES, DATA BASE WAS NOT COMPARABLE. FOR EXAMPLE AIR DEFENSE FORCES ARE COUNTED AS GROUND FORCES IN SOME COUNTRIES AND NOT IN OTHERS: THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND CIVILIANS IN NATO MILITARY WORK SHOULD BE COUNTED AS TROOPS, SINCE TROOPS WERE USED FOR THESE FUNCTIONS IN WARSAW PACT; SOVIET REP HAD MENTIONED NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES ONLY IN PASSING AND HAD HINTED THAT EAST MIGHT ACCEPT A REDUCTION OF GROUND FORCES WITH A FREEZE ON OTHER FORCES. IT WAS ALSO AN ABSOLUTE PRIORITY FOR THE EAST THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS REDUCE FROM THE BEGINNING. SOVIET REP HAD QUESTIONED WHY NON-REDUCED WESTERN FORCES SHOULD BE EXEMPT FROM STABILIZING MEASURES. FRG REP FELT THAT THERE WERE ADDITIONAL SIGNS OF FLEXIBILITY LIMITED TO SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS. HE ALSO FELT THAT ALLIED ARGUMENTS ON EXEMPTION OF NON-REDUCED FORCES FROM STABILIZING MEASURES HAD BEEN WEEK.

10. CANADIAN REP ENDORSED FRG REP'S ASSESSMENT, BUT CAUTIONED AGAINST TOO MUCH OPTIMISM BASED ON SOVIET HINTS AT THIS STAGE. THESE APPARENT INDICATIONS OF FLEXIBILITY WERE ADVANCED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO BE EASILY WITHDRAWN. CANADIAN REP THOUGHT THAT THE SOVIETS WERE PROTESTING TOO MUCH THAT THEY WERE IN NO HURRY. IT APPEARED FROM THEIR RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR OWN POSITION THAT THE EAST WAS IN A HURRY.

11. CHAIRMAN ASKED FOR COMMENTS FROM OTHER AHG MEMBERS.
UK REP SAID THAT IN READING TEXT OF REPORT HE HAD DECIDED
HALF WAY THROUGH THAT SOVIET SIDE HAD WON ON POINTS AND
WAS GLAD TO NOTE THAT ALLIED REPS HAD FINALLY REDRESSED THE
BALANCE. GROUP WOULD HAVE TO ADDRESS SOVIET QUESTIONS ON
FORCE STRUCTURE AND DATA BASE. UK REP SAID HE WAS PUZZLED
BY TWO POINTS: A) WHAT WAS SOVIET REP AIMING AT WITH
SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS PROPOSAL? DID HE IMPLY THAT

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

SMALL AIR AND NUCLEAR REDUCTIONS COULD BE REPLACED
BY A FREEZE? THERE WAS NOTHING SPECIFIC IN THE
TEXT OF THE REPORT OF THE MEETING TO JUSTIFY THE
STATEMENT IN THE SUMMARY THAT THIS WAS THE CASE.
B) HAD THERE REALLY BEEN EASTERN INDICATIONS OF

FLEXIBILITY ON TIMING OF REDUCTIONS? DOES THE SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL INCLUDE POSSIBILITY OF POSTPONING REDUCTIONS OF OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO A LATER DATE?

12. FRG REP REPLIED THAT THIS WAS NOT WHAT SOVIET REP HAD MEANT. WHEN US REP HAD RAISED QUESTION OF MEANING OF SOVIET REP'S REMARKS ON TIMING, EASTERN REPS HAD
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RETIRED FOR CAUCUS AND SOVIET REP'S COLLEAGUES APPARENTLY TOLD HIM THERE THAT HE HAD GONE TOO FAR. FRG REP SAID HE FLET SOVIET REP HAD NOT INDICATED FLEXIBILITY ON ISSUE OF PARTICIPATION FROM THE OUTSET OF EUROPEAN FORCES IN SYMBOLIC REDUCTION.

13. CHAIRMAN SAID SOVIET REP SAID QUESTION OF TIMING WAS OPEN FOR DISCUSSION. AMBIGUITY IN HIS STATEMENT CONCERNED TIMING OF REDUCTION OF EUROPEAN FORCES. CHAIRMAN AGREED THAT EASTERN CAUCUS HAD APPARENTLY TOLD SOVIET REP TO RESTRICT HIMSELF TO TIMING OF 1975 REDUCTIONS.

14. CHAIRMAN ASKED US DEPT REP TO GIVE HIS ASSESSMENT OF VIEW THAT EAST MIGHT BE SATISFIED WITH A FREEZE. US DEP REP NOTED THAT IN PREVIOUS INFORMAL MEETING EASTERN REP HAD ALREADY CUT BAFK IDEAS TO EXTENT OF SPECIFYING REDUCTION OF ONLY TEN ROCKETS AND ONE OR TWO TYPES OF COMPARABLE AIRCRAFT. IN 25 MARCH MEETING, HE HAD GONE EVEN FURTHER AND TREATED WHOLE TOPIC WITH CAVALIER IMPRECISION AS AN AFTER-THOUGHT SPEAKING IN TERMS OF LIMITS ON NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES DESIRED BY POLES AND CZECHS.

15. NETHERLANDS REP SAID THAT IT APPEARED CLEAR THAT SOME SUBTERRANEAN MOVEMENT WAS GOING ON IN POSITION OF THE WARSAW PACT. IN SUGGESTING THAT ALLIES COMBINE UNSPECIFIED PROPOSALS TO COME UP WITH NEW IDEAS, SOVIET REP WAS TRYING TO DRAW ALLIES OUT. ALLIES SHOULD BE WARY OF VIEWING SOVIET REP'S MERE PASSING REFERENCE TO NUCLEARS AND AIR FORCES AS SIGN OF DECREASED SOVIET INTEREST IN THESE WEAPONS AT THIS STAGE. HOWEVER, HE BELIEVED THE SOVIETS WERE DEFINITELY INTERESTED IN A FREEZE, WHEREAS CZECHS AND POLES WERE MORE CONCERNED WITH REDUCTIONS OF NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES. HE WARNED ALLIES NOT TO BE LED INTO SEPARATE PARALLEL NEGOTIATIONS ON US/SOVIET REDUCTIONS ON THE ONE HAND AND ON SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS ON THE OTHER. IN THE END THE EAST WILL AGREE TO A

FREEZE IF THE ALLIES ARE PREPARED TO OFFER THAT.

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16. NETHERLANDS REP FELT THAT QUESTION RAISED BY SOVIET REP ON EXACT DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES SHOWED READINESS TO ADDRESS THIS SUBJECT IN SEPARATE MEETINGS OF SPECIALISTS PROVIDED EAST GETS ITS SYMBOLIC REDUCTION AND THE FREEZE. IT THEREFORE BECOMES IMPORTANT HOW AHG DEFINES FORCE CATEGORIES. WESTERN ARGUMENTS ON CONFINING STABILIZING MEASURES TO US AND SOVIET FORCES ARE WEAK, BECAUSE WEST'S REASONS FOR THEM ARE NOT THOSE WHICH IT IS PRESENTING TO THE EAST. THEY ARE NOT REALLY LINKED TO REDUCTIONS. WEST IS REALLY TRYING TO GAIN CONTROL OVER SOVIET TROOP MOVEMENTS IN ORDER TO PREVENT RECURRENCE OF AFFAIRS LIKE THAT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1968. BUT IT IS DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN TO EAST WHY NON-REDUCED FORCES SHOULD BE EXEMPT.

17. ITALIAN ACTING REP (TALIANI) SAID THAT POINTS OF COMMON GROUND LISTED BY SOVIET REP ARE ACUTALLY NOT COMMON GROUND BUT COULD STILL BE USEFULLY PURSUED. IT WAS UNCLEAR HOW FAR EAST WOULD PERMIT ALLIES TO EXTRACT CONCESSIONS THROUGH VEHICLE OF DEVELOPING ITS SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL.

18. BELGIAN REP NOTED THAT FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES WAS NOW CLEARER IN EASTERN STATEMENTS. THE EAST WAS ALSO CLEARLY UNDER TIME PRESSURE, BECAUSE DURING MOST RECENT SESSIONS IT HAD YIELDED ON MORE POINTS IN ONE SESSION THAN IN ALL OTHERS TO DATE. BELGIAN REP SAID WISDOM OF GROUP'S FIRMNESS AGAINST SYMBOLIC REDUCTION WAS CONFIRMED. SOVIET REP HAD ALREADY HINTED AT RECEPTIVITY TO LINKAGE IN HIS DISCUSSION OF SYMBOLIC REDUCTION AND ALLIES MAY YET OBTAIN CONCESSIONS WITHOUT HAVING TO AGREE TO SYMBOLIC REDUCTION. IT WAS DANGEROUS, HOWEVER, TO ALLOW THE EAST TO USE THE SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL AS A LARGE DOOR THROUGH WHICH IT WOULD TRY TO FORCE UNACCEPTABLE POINTS.

19. US DEP REP ASKED GROUP TO EXERCISE SELF-RESTRAINT IN DISCUSSION WITH EAST, NOT TO INDICATE

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SATISFACTION WITH LIMITED DEGREE OF MOVEMENT IN THE
25 MARCH SESSION AND TO MAINTAIN STANCE OF FIRMNESS
IN BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH EAST AGAINST SYMBOLIC
REDUCTION PROPOSAL.

20. CHAIRMAN CONCLUDED MEETING AND DEFERRED REMAINING OF
THE DISCUSSION OF REPORT OF 25 MARCH INFORMAL MEETING
TO 27 MARCH AHG MEETING.HUMES

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